

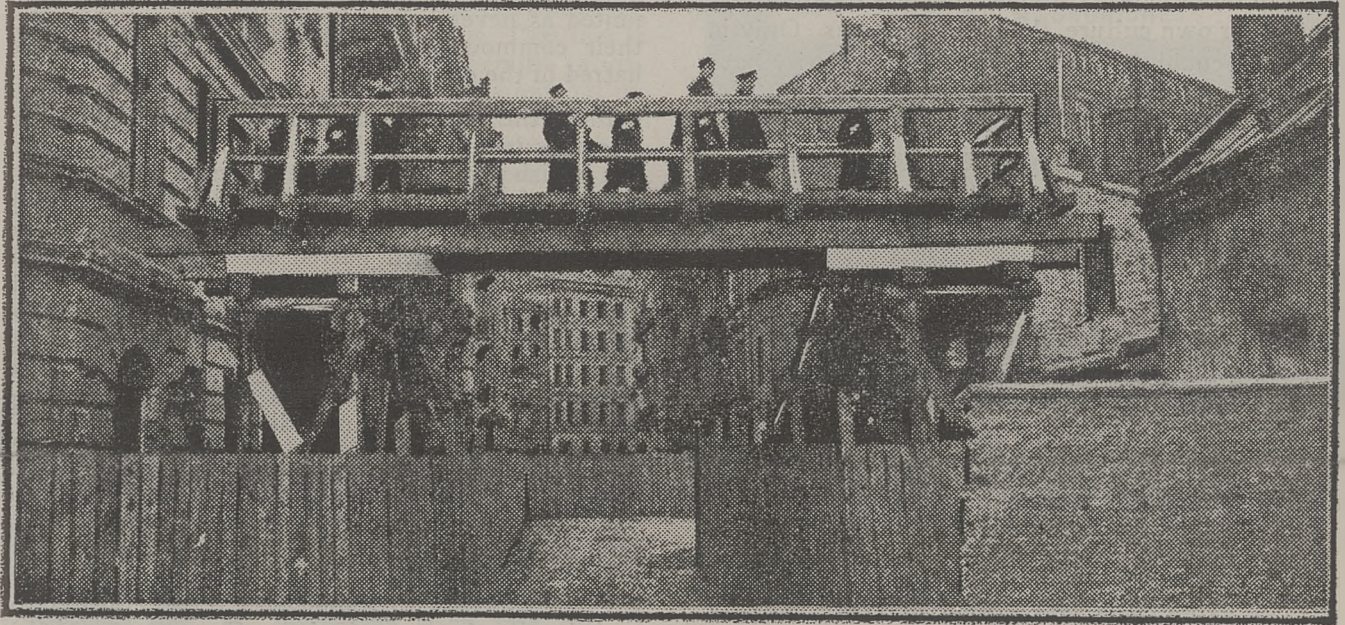
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GERMAN VIEW OF WARSAW GHETTO



Wooden Bridges in Warsaw Ghetto to Enable the Jews to Cross Streets that do not Belong to the Ghetto

ONE would imagine that the Germans, after establishing a ghetto in Warsaw, would refrain from boasting in their press of the benefits conferred upon the non-Polish population in the Government General. Quite to the contrary. Articles and reports frequently appear in German papers, describing with wealth of detail conditions of life in the Warsaw ghetto.

Not long ago, the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* published a story with photographs of the Warsaw ghetto, under the caption "The Jews among themselves." This article, from which the above illustration is taken, begins with the reproduction of a notice in Polish and in German forbidding access to any home or building quarantined for typhoid fever. The German comment is typical. It is to the effect that the Jews are mainly responsible for the spread of the typhoid epidemic because they are lice carriers, but that the disease does not affect them as it does Germans and Poles and their mortality from it is only 10%, the reason being that long centuries of filth have immunized the Semitic race against typhoid! It is the fault of the Jews that mortality from typhoid among Aryans is as high as 40%. The pur-

pose of this comment is to evoke feelings of repulsion and disgust for the Jews, who can accommodate themselves even to typhoid.

Another photograph shows the huge wall, separating the ghetto from the rest of Warsaw. The author prides himself on the fact that Germany has built the greatest ghetto in Europe. A third picture shows a bridge thrown across a street, to cope with traffic congestion arising from the establishment of the ghetto.

A brief explanation is given "justifying" the necessity of this ghetto. It was urgent because of the danger resulting from "over-population of Poland by the prolific Semite race" from "the proverbial tendency of Eastern Jews to criminal offenses," (*sprichtwortliche Kriminalitaet des Ost-Juden*), and, finally, from the "notorious acts of sabotage, violation of price regulations and profiteering," of which the Jews are alleged to be guilty.

Following these comments, intended to create hatred and evoke discord among Jews and Poles, the article devotes itself to sowing strife among the Jews themselves. The pictures here are even more

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POLAND SPEAKS . . .

From a recent speech of Jan Stanczyk, Polish Labor Minister

I WOULD like to speak about the source of anti-Semitism, that disgrace to contemporary humanity. Anti-Semitism is the unmistakable child of nationalism, in its most monstrous and degenerate form of national and racial hatred. Germany is typical of such degenerate nationalism. The German nation does not know that feeling of noble patriotism which through love of one's own motherland, of one's own nation commands the esteem and respect of other nations attached to their own motherland, their own culture, their own customs. Only in Germany could the theory of racial superiority have been born and have grown into the insane religion of an entire nation. Only in Germany could Hitler, with his primitive intellect and vulgar racial theory have become a prophet. Only in Germany could Rosenberg pass for a sage, in other countries he would be a candidate for an asylum, or at best be treated as a lunatic deserving of pity.

Owing to Poland's defective economic structure and to the large number of Jews especially in trade, anti-Semitism had long existed among those who sought to conceal the real causes of the misery of the masses, and to win adherents among the uncritical section of the urban lower middle classes.

As Germany's immediate neighbor, Poland could not prevent a certain infiltration of totalitarian theories, of nationalism and racism in her territories. With the aid of these theories, and especially of anti-Semitism, the Germans hoped to put the Polish nation off her guard against the German threat to her independence.

The overwhelming majority of the Polish nation realized the danger threatening them from Germany. The fact that the German minority in Poland was most active in spreading anti-Semitism, imposed on the Polish community the utmost caution in adopting anti-Semitic slogans.

The mass of workers and peasants, in other words, 80% of the Polish people, always were opposed to anti-Semitism; and it was only part of the youth attending higher educational institutions, and unemployed members of the intellectual classes who succumbed to anti-Semitic propaganda.

As a matter of fact, anti-Semitism in Poland had features quite different from those of the German type. No one treated the racial theory seriously in Poland. No one attempted to propagate a conception, entirely foreign to the psychology of the Polish

nation. In fact, no one would have understood it in Poland. In their propaganda the Polish anti-Semites made use exclusively of economic arguments without any ideological theories about racial superiority.

I am aware that among world Jewry, a fear exists that anti-Semitism may find expression in liberated Poland. I am profoundly convinced that it will not. Today the Polish nation and the Jewish population are together the victims of terrible oppression and persecution. The Polish and Jewish population is united as never before by their common suffering, their common desire for freedom, their common hatred of the enemy.

From the very first moment of their invasion, the Germans tried to set the Polish population against the Jewish population. Those attempts were an utter failure. Among the Polish people they merely aroused greater sympathy for the misfortune of the Jews, and deepened hatred for their persecutors. My wife, who succeeded in escaping from Poland, tells, as an eye witness, that when after the siege of Warsaw, the Germans began to give the starving Polish people food but refused it to the Jews, the Poles shared their food with the Jews under the very eyes of the German soldiers.

A Pole who recently escaped to England after various dramatic incidents, testifies that the Jews confined in the ghetto by the Germans would die of hunger but for the aid given them at the risk of their own lives by the Poles. Despite the walls with which the Germans have surrounded the Jews in the ghetto, and despite the control of the Gestapo, the Polish people find means and ways of supplying food and medicine across the walls to the unfortunate inhabitants of the ghetto.

A photographic copy of a manifesto published and distributed by Polish workers in German-occupied Warsaw after the ghetto had been introduced there, has come into my hands. I cannot speak without emotion of those brave, steadfast fighters for independence and freedom who, at the risk of their own lives, somewhere in the cellars of Warsaw, printed and then distributed a manifesto explaining the infamy of the ghetto, and placing on record their fraternal feelings for the Jewish workers locked up in that ghetto.

This manifesto met with an immediate and no less moving reply. The Jewish workers behind the ghetto walls printed, at the risk of their lives, a leaflet representing the breaking down of the ghetto walls by the solidarity of the laboring people.

I have brought along the prints of both these manifestos to show you, as proof how the Polish people, living under German occupation, are reacting to the Nazi propaganda and what they think of German barbarism.

JEWISH GHETTOS IN POLAND

THE majority of the ghettos in the large towns, which are already overcrowded, are continually having their population added to by the influx of Jews deported from the small towns in the neighborhood. The Warsaw ghetto, for instance, has had to take in the Jews from the neighboring towns and summer resorts. Latest reports state that the ghetto now has some six hundred thousand inhabitants. There is such terrible overcrowding that, despite the autumnal cold, groups of people have had to spend the night in the open, under inadequate tents.

Owing to the overcrowding and lack of food the ghetto is swept with spotted typhus, consumption, and trachoma, all on an epidemic scale. This fact is being used by the Germans for anti-Semitic propaganda. During the spring the Germans put out an especially disgusting poster in the streets and other public places, and in reproduction in the press. Under the caption "Jews-lice-typhoid", it depicted the macabre head of a Jew in the clutches of a gigantic louse.

Despite the almost insurmountable obstacles with which they are faced, the Jews are struggling with all their energy to eradicate the plague. Special street committees for medical aid have been organized and they are to be found at every corner of this

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perfidious. There is a photograph of a well-fitted bar-lounge situated, according to the caption "some-



Ghetto Walls Divide Even Squares and Cut Street Car Lines



Entrance Door to Warsaw Ghetto, with German Poster: Spotted Typhoid Fever, Entrance and Exit Forbidden

where in the ghetto," with well-dressed men and women sitting at the tables drinking wine and having a good time. Other photographs show a gay party laughing and dancing, and the interior of a night club, entitled: "The Rich Enjoy Themselves."

It is most improbable that this cabaret really exists in Warsaw, but it was necessary for the author to show that there are rich people in the ghetto who amuse themselves while others starve. Two emaciated Jewish boys are seen begging, another boy is standing alongside, in a torn overcoat, with two bottles of whiskey under his belt (whoever carries bottles of whiskey under his belt in Poland?).

Another picture shows a group of Jews conversing and leaving their home. Not far away stands a Jewish policeman who smiles cynically at an old ghastly-looking Jew dying in agony on the steps. No one seems to bother about it. This is published under the title: "Jewish Solidarity." Incredible as it may seem — the author tries to arouse dissension among Jews.

In conclusion, the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* prints the picture of a large market-place in the ghetto calling it "A Queer Fair: Jews trading with Jews."

The Nazi press reflects the true attitude of the German Government and people. Articles such as this show to what a degraded state of mind the Nazis have brought the German people. True to the words of a German poet of 1914, they know only how to hate: "Germans! Learn to hate! Murder the millions who oppose you! Pile up their smouldering bodies in a mass."

ALLIED CONFERENCE

By Dr. ADAM PRAGIER

LONDON and Washington abstained for a long time in publishing the principles on which would be built the world after victory. They satisfied themselves in stating that the ultimate aim of war was victory. While the war spread in intensity, the desire was to find the guiding principles of the few organizations of the world made itself more felt. President Roosevelt satisfied the desire firstly in his declaration of war aims in January, 1941. He spoke about the four principles of the freedom of man: about the freedom of speech and of the Press, about the freedom of conscience and religion, about the freedom from persecution and about the freedom from poverty. Not long afterwards, in May, 1941, Mr. Eden made the same kind of declaration in the Guildhall of London. He stressed the necessity of the economic co-operation of all states after the war. On June 12th, 1941, the first conference of the Governments of all states fighting against Germany, presided over by Churchill, was held in London and it voted the main principles of their future political co-operation. The day of August 14th wrote an event of the utmost importance; the joint Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter, which from now on will be a beacon guiding the nations fighting for freedom. It promises peace based on national and individual freedom and on social justice to the world. The Atlantic Charter is often compared with Wilson's 14 points on January 8th, 1918, which proclaimed the principles of the Treaty of Versailles. But the Atlantic Charter differs vastly from Wilson's declaration. The differences are a proof that in 1941 the world is no longer the same as in 1918. Wilson proclaimed his 14 points alone, without reaching an understanding with other countries, and after the war America refused to co-operate in the execution of those 14 points. Today's declaration expresses the joint will of the two English speaking powers and foretells their common action also after the war.

We have been long skeptical on the value of political declarations. This skepticism of ours has been increased yet by the innumerable Nazi lies which deprived declarations and promises of all their value. But one should remember, that English speaking nations are honestly looking for the principles of future action and their declarations are an attempt to formulate and express the truth they discovered in a reasonable way. In the Atlantic Charter America and Great Britain proclaimed that they do not aim at the aggrandizements of their countries and do not seek to have any benefits from this war for themselves. They refuse to change the state frontiers except in accordance with the free decisions of the interested nations themselves. They proclaim the necessity of restoring the independence of all the states who have been deprived of it by German aggression. They refuse to force any form of government upon the nations and they recognize that every nation has the right to set up its own form of government. In regard to economic problems the Atlantic

Charter is widely different from Wilson's 14 points. It says that all states are entitled to share equally the access to the world's riches, economic facilities and the freedom of the seas. In this way the inhabitants of the whole world will participate in world economic co-operation and benefit from its blessings.

After the tyranny of the Third Reich is destroyed they will enjoy in their respective countries not only political freedom but also freedom from fear of oppression and want. In this way the slogan "social security" proclaimed by the British Socialist Minister, Mr. Bevin, found its way into the declaration. This slogan secures to every one the right to work and to a standard of life corresponding to the level of prosperity of the whole nation.

In the field of disarmament the Atlantic Charter also differs from the earlier declaration of Wilson. Wilson was deluded that general disarmament and eternal peace are possible. Churchill and Roosevelt proclaimed a realistic principle — they announced the disarmament of the aggressive states, and the re-armament of those states who were the victims of aggression. The wealthy states are to help the poorer states. It will be seen from that, that Wilson's declaration was content with proclaiming the principles of political democracy. The Atlantic Charter links the problem of political democracy with the principle of economic democracy and with the co-operation of America and Europe.

On September 24th, this declaration was accepted and recognized as the basis of their common policy in war and peace by the representatives of the 16 Allied countries represented at the second inter-ally conference in London. The representatives of these governments stated that from now on the Atlantic Charter will form the basis of their common action. A significant event at this conference was the joint declaration of Poland and Czechoslovakia. In the names of these two states, Mr. Masaryk declared that the two governments are ready to co-operate on assuring collective security and economic prosperity. A separate declaration of the Polish Government stressed the necessity of the lasting co-operation of the English speaking countries with the countries of the European continent after the conclusion of peace. Indeed, the utmost care would be necessary to avoid in future the deplorable mistakes which destroyed the Treaty of Versailles and brought about a new war. The world of the future will have to be built not only by those who are responsible for the sins of the past, but by those who bring the promise of a better future. Not those who live on economic privileges will build the world based on economic freedom and social security. Not those whose existence is based on political oppression will build a world of free and equal nations and men.

THE LEGAL POSITION OF THE JEWS IN POLAND

THE Allies' victory at the end of the Four Years' war brought Poland also her long desired independent existence, after 126 years of enslavement; for which the finest sons of Poland including many Polish Jews, to mention only Berek Joselowicz, Rabbi Meisels, and, in more contemporary times, Szymon Askenazy, had given themselves unstintingly

On November 11th, 1918, Poland recovered her independence, and only a few days later the first Polish Prime Minister, Moraczewski, issued a proclamation to the Polish nation (*Monitor Polski* No. 208, November 20th, 1918) in which he declared in the name of the Government:

"Before the Sejm passes projects for social reform, in accord with the spirit of the time . . . we introduce immediately the complete equality of rights of all citizens without regard to race or creed."

The first Constitution of the new Republic of Poland, passed by Parliament on March 17th, 1921, granted Jews full equality — religious, lingual and national. The relative articles of the March Constitution reads as follows: —

"Article 96. All citizens are equal before the law, public offices are equally accessible to all, on the conditions prescribed by law.

"Article 109. Every citizen shall have the right to preserve his nationality and to cultivate his speech and national qualities. Special State laws shall guarantee to minorities within the Polish State the full and free development of their national qualities, with the assistance of autonomous minority associations of a public-juridical character within the limits of general self-government associations. The State shall have the right of controlling their activities, and in case of need the duty of supplementing their financial means.

"Article 110. Polish citizens belonging to national, confessional, or lingual minorities shall have equal rights with other citizens to establish, supervise and administer at their own expense, philanthropic, confessional and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, as also free therein to use their language and to carry out the precepts of their religion.

"Article 111. Freedom of conscience and of religion shall be guaranteed to all citizens. No citizen shall by reason of his faith or his religious convic-



Jews in Warsaw Harnessed to a Truck in Place of a Horse

tions be limited in his access to rights due to other citizens.

"Article 112. . . . No one shall evade performing his public duties by reason of his religious faith. No one shall be compelled to participate in religious activities or rituals, unless he is subject to parental or tutelary authority.

"Article 113. Every confessional association recognized by the State shall have the right to hold collective and public religious services, independently to conduct its internal affairs, possess and acquire, administer and dispose of movable and real estate, to hold and utilize its foundations and funds, as also its institutions set up for religious, scientific or philanthropic purposes. No religious association shall, however, remain in contradiction with the laws of the State.

"Article 115. The Churches of religious minorities and of other religious associations recognized by law shall be governed by their own statutes, which the State shall not refuse to recognize, provided that they do not contain provisions contrary to law.

"The relation of the State to these Churches shall be determined by legislation after an understanding has been attained with their legal representative bodies."

The March Constitution remained in force for 14 years, and was then replaced by the Constitutional Law of April 23rd, 1935. This Constitutional Law also fully maintained the thesis of the equality of all citizens and therefore the equality of Jews. The relative articles of the April Constitutional Law read:

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THE GERMAN PEOPLE MUST LEARN TO UNLEARN

By PETER MATTHEWS

THE attitude of the British Government has advanced a long way since the days when Mr. Chamberlain proclaimed that Great Britain had "no quarrel with the German people." Gone is the belief that the formulation of generous peace terms would suffice to drive a wedge between Hitler and the great mass of "peaceful" Germans. In its place has come the realization that: "If we are to have peace in our life-time, the German people must learn to un-learn all that they have been taught, not only by Hitler, but by his predecessors in the last hundred years, by so many of their philosophers and teachers, the disciples of blood and iron."

Is there, then, no "other Germany," a Germany of "poets and thinkers," of men capable of absorbing liberal ideas and of collaborating with other like-minded countries? Are there no "German moderates" who, if they were given their chance, could lead their country into other paths than those which the Reich has trod during the past eight years of inhuman persecution and feverish preparation for total war? Is it true, as Otto Strasser once told me, that the German people themselves have suffered two million casualties in the fight against Nazism?

There may be "another Germany," but, if there is, it has singularly failed in the past to assert itself and wrest the leadership from the "disciples of blood and iron." It is perfectly true, of course, that when Hitler seized power in 1933, a majority of the German people was still voting against the Nazi party; that on the morrow of Germany's defeat in 1918 there was a great revulsion of feeling against the Kaiser's policy of imperialism; that a great many Germans have given their lives in the struggle against National Socialism. But it is also true that, even on the morrow of the German defeat, there remained a hard core of irreconcilable nationalists, the men of the *Freikorps*, the men who murdered Walter Rathenau and subsequently found their spiritual home in Hitler's storm troops. What is perhaps even more important is that, by the testimony of German liberals, the democratic Weimar régime never succeeded in establishing effective control over the *Reichswehr* which had been called in, as the ally of a Social Democrat government, to crush the Communist risings of the early post-War years.

Could the scales have been tipped in favor of the liberal, democratic elements by a policy of greater "moderation" on the part of the Western Powers? So hypothetical a question is difficult to answer, but certain facts throw light upon it. An important ges-

ture of "appeasement" towards the Germany of Weimar was the withdrawal of Allied troops from the Rhineland in 1930, five years before the date stipulated in the Peace Treaty. That event was greeted by the German people with nationalist demonstrations, and it was followed at the elections of 1931 by the greatest of all the increases in the Hitler vote, the Nazi representation in the Reichstag rising from less than twenty to more than a hundred. The inference is that the Germans, so far from welcoming the evacuation of the Rhineland as a step towards reconciliation, regarded it as affording an opportunity for Hitler's declared policy of revenge.

It seems safe to assume that the defeat of Hitler will leave the German people in a frame of mind not markedly different from that of 1919. There will be very widespread disillusionment with the policy, the party and the leader who have led Germany to a second disaster. There will be a very general movement against the party bosses, high and low, who will be regarded as responsible. But there will remain the problem which was preoccupying French opinion when

THE REAL FACE OF GERMANY

"Of course there have been, and are, Germans who may not have liked executing the programmes of their leaders; but with individuals we are not concerned; the fact remains that the programmes of their leaders always HAVE been executed. And there is a remarkable resemblance between those German leaders. It is, therefore, dangerous to persist in the hallucination that there is in Germany an effective element of kindly and learned old gentlemen and of sweet pig-tailed maidens. That is, unhappily, a myth."

SIR ROBERT VANSITTART

I visited Paris in April of last year, the problem expressed in the phrase: *Il faut désintoxiquer la jeunesse allemande*. The work of eight or ten years of Nazi education is not undone in a day. The young men who are fighting Hitler's battles for him have known nothing save Nazism; their whole thinking and feeling has been moulded by the doctrines of *Mein Kampf*—latest manifestation of the gospel of blood and iron. Equally important is the fact that there has been, during the past eight years, a total interruption in the process of democratic education. Democracy can flourish only if the individual has a strong sense of responsibility for the conduct of national and local affairs. Its spirit is the very antithesis of the *Führerprinzip*, with its essentially irresponsible insistence upon blind obedience.

Nor should it be forgotten that whatever régime follows, National Socialism will inevitably be saddled with responsibility for the catastrophic situation in which Germany will find herself after the war. Hitler's policy of sacrificing everything to military efficiency has sown the seeds of a second German

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MODERN POLISH TEXTILES

TO THE most beautiful modern Polish textiles belong those produced in Warsaw in the workrooms of the co-operative society of decorative arts for the interior, known as "Ład" (aesthetic order). The "Ład," which was founded in 1926 through the initiative of professors and students of the Warsaw Academy of Art, was the latest link in the chain of previous endeavors made towards the improvement of Polish decorative arts. In the past these endeavors were given full expression first at the Exhibition of Architecture and Interior Decoration, held in Cracow in 1912 and arranged by the Cracow Society of Polish Applied Arts; later, at the Cracow Art Workrooms; and finally, at the Polish Section of the International Exhibition of Decorative Arts held in Paris in 1925.

The close co-operation of young artists with experienced ones who had been active at an earlier period enabled the "Ład" to render a true and mature interpretation of the artistic trends of the post-war generation.

The activities of the "Ład" — as set out in the regulations of its organization and according to its programme outlined in the catalogue of the Art Section at the General Exhibition held in Poznan in 1929 — were concentrated upon designing, the manufacture and sale of every class of industrial art products, and the provision of aesthetically arranged interiors. The main purpose of the "Ład" aimed directly at improving all designs, at raising the quality of raw materials used and perfecting the production techniques. Its object was to bring about a higher standard of manufacture and to refine the existing artistic culture of all parts of the country. The "Ład" had faithfully followed these principles since its inception and continued to observe them scrupulously in every department of its activities until the German invasion.

Working conjointly, the settled purpose of all the artists and craftsmen of this institution was to be

thorough in every undertaking from the moment the work on it was begun. They submitted every property of the raw materials to a searching test and closely attended to each detail during the

whole process of dyeing and turning the raw materials into finished products. Due to such a routine fine results have been attained especially in the *kilim* and mechanical weaving sections.

The adopted rule in *kilim* making was to use homespun wool of a rough and elastic texture. This was treated with natural dyes in a way so as to obtain a shimmering fabric having a lively play of colors.

The technique of patterning the decorations in the fabric to be woven was standardized and depended on whether the loom was of a horizontal or vertical type (*basse et haute lisse*).

In the department of linen textiles, which were mechanically woven on the Jacquard looms, the "Ład" has created a great number of varying patterns of an entirely new type. In these the natural color of the flax shows up among the threads that are fast dyed in color characteristic of the pattern. Such textiles tend towards a shade of grey and are most practical for many purposes. They serve admirably as coverings for furniture, as wall-hangings, tapestries, tablecloths, bedspreads, curtains, etc.

Linen and woolen textiles (*kilims*) have an old traditional standing and in Poland are considered to be one of the finest examples of folk art.

In the matter of technique, in the choice of materials, and sometimes even in the case of certain motifs which were selected with great care, the "Ład" hearkened back to the best of the folk traditions. While it certainly absorbed this traditional heritage fully, it in no way borrowed the patterns themselves but reconstructed them in its own particular style, obtaining thereby a type which appears quite modern though lacking none of the national Polish features.

— Dr. M.T.



Zofja Jezioranska:

Modern Polish "Kilim."

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cruel ghetto. These committees devote themselves tirelessly and unselfishly to the task of preventing the typhus germs from overcoming the entire populace.

In this struggle, Christian Poles on the other side of the ghetto wall are doing what they can to help—smuggling medical supplies into the unfortunate occupants and risking their own lives in the effort.

The food situation in the Warsaw ghetto is tragic. The stocks of foodstuffs have now been exhausted, and imports from outside the ghetto walls can be made only with great difficulty. In consequence the prices are far higher than elsewhere in Warsaw. Starvation is so extensive that it is causing a steadily increasing mortality, up to 100 per week.

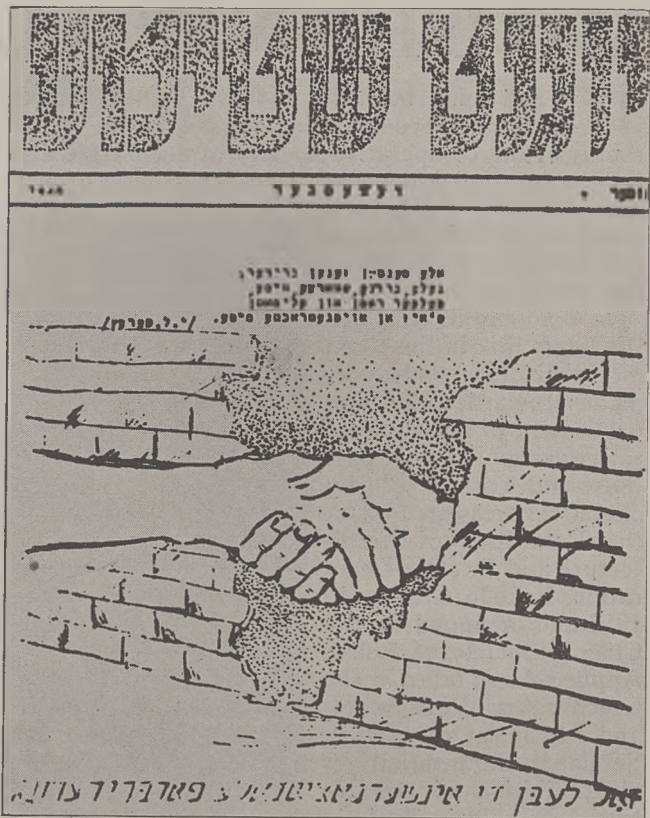
The organization of the internal affairs of the ghettos is in the hands of the religious communities, who have been granted certain powers by the German occupants. But they are not able to achieve much, owing to the lack of funds. Those funds are further reduced by the demands of the German authorities for large financial contributions from time to time.

The transfer of the Jews from smaller towns to the ghettos was accomplished by the usual German brutality and torture, and made in horrible traveling conditions. In some cases of a few miles the journey took two days, owing to the numerous stops made on the way.

A large number of Jews deported from Austria are now living in the General Government. There is a talk of all males between the ages of 12 and 60 being called up for the compulsory labor camps. These labor camps have long been in existence at Jozefow, Belzec, Zamosc, Biala, Tyszowiec and elsewhere, while the quarries at Opatow are particularly notorious. The food situation in the camps is desperate and the German overseers' treatment of their victims is brutal to the last degree. There is very high mortality in the camps.

"Anti-Semitic slogans have always been foreign to the psychology of the Polish nation. The Polish nation will always remain faithful to its finest traditions of freedom, which are symbolized in the words: 'For our Freedom and yours.' In liberated Poland Jews as citizens will be equal in responsibilities and rights with Polish society, and will be able unhindered to develop their culture, religion and customs. The guarantees of this will be not only the State laws, but also the common sacrifices made in the struggle for a liberated Poland and the common sufferings in this most tragic period of oppression of the Polish and Jewish population in our unfortunate country."

Declaration made by the Polish Government, on November 3rd, 1940.



Poles and Jews Clasp Hands Through Ghetto Walls
(From a Jewish underground paper in Warsaw)

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"Article 1. The Polish State is the common weal of all its citizens.

"Article 5. (1) The activity of every individual citizen is the lever of collective life. (2) The State assures its citizens the possibility of developing their personal capabilities, as also liberty of conscience, speech and assembly. (3) The limit of these liberties is the common good.

"Article 7. (1) The rights of a citizen to influence public affairs will be estimated according to the value of his efforts and services for the common good. (2)

"The Polish Government shares the principles expounded by the Prime Minister in the United States, on the Government policy concerning the Jews, and in particular associates itself with his declaration on this question, made in the National Council on June 4th, 1941, reading as follows: In accordance with the sincerely democratic policy of the Government, the principle—equal duties, equal rights—will be binding in the future Poland in regard to all citizens of the Republic without regard to nationality, race or creed. That is the standpoint of the Polish Government, which regards all cultivation of an anti-Semitic policy as harmful."

Declaration made by the Polish Government, on June 10th, 1941.

These rights cannot be restricted by origin, religion, sex or nationality.

With the above-mentioned two Constitutional Laws as a basis Jews in the Republic of Poland enjoyed complete equality both as a religious body and as a nationality.

The high proportion of Jews to the general population of Poland (9.8%) unequalled in any other State, and also the very important part played by Jews in certain spheres of economic life (trade, small-scale industry, finance, and handicrafts) provided a jumping-off ground for anti-Semitic tendencies in certain spheres of Polish society. The treatment of the Jewish question in the Third Reich during the year 1933-1938 could not but have some influence in Poland. But it has to be emphasized that although these tendencies achieved some popularity among certain quite small sections of the population, the Polish Republic never introduced any kind of legal restrictions on its Jewish citizens, and on September 1st, 1939, at the outbreak of the present war, the Polish Jews were citizens of the Polish Republic, enjoying full rights in every respect.

THE LEGAL DISCRIMINATIONS AGAINST THE JEWS IN GERMAN-OCCUPIED POLAND

The unfortunate results of war operations on Polish territory in the autumn of 1939 brought the larger part of that territory under German military occupation. The majority of Polish Jews lived in the area which was thus occupied by the Germans.

By the prescriptions of the fourth Hague Convention of 1907 in the conduct of war, which was subscribed to by both Poland and Germany, the authorities of occupation were bound to respect those laws in force in the occupied country (article 43) and to respect the rights of individuals, private property, religious convictions and freedom of religious practice (article 46). In the normal course of things it was to be expected that Germany would respect the

Hague Convention and Polish laws, and would not introduce any special prescriptions concerning the Jews, despite their own home policy on the Jewish population in Germany. But the Germans' respect international agreements only insofar as they are of benefit to Germany, and they had no intention of observing the Hague Convention. Contrary to this law and contrary to the Polish Constitution they introduced a number of prescriptions discriminating against the Jewish population in Poland in the area of the Government General.

These prescriptions are as follows:

a. The order on compulsory labor for the Jewish population, introduced in the Government General on October 26th, 1939, laid an obligation on Jews to perform compulsory labor and provided for the creation of special detachments of Jewish workers for performing this work. This regulation was supplemented by two others. One issued on December 11th, 1939 (*Verordnungsblatt des General-Gouvernement*, item 231, 1939), laid down that Jews were not entitled to change their places of residence without the special permission of the German authorities, and immediately on arrival in any community they must notify the burgomaster and the

Jewish community of their address. Jews were not allowed to be in the street from 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. without the written permission of the German authorities.

The second regulation of December 12th, 1939 (*Verordnungsblatt des General-Gouvernement*, item 216, 1939), laid the obligation of compulsory labor on all Jewish inhabitants of the Government General between the ages of 12 and 60. The term of labor was fixed at two years, but could be extended, if the educational aims of this compulsory labor were not achieved. Jews registered and called on to do compulsory labor were to present themselves at the time indicated at the place indicated, were to take with them provisions for two days, and to take two blankets. Handicraft workers were also to take all the

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Ein Plakat für das Generalgouvernement,

Anti-Semitic German Poster in Warsaw: "Jews - Lice - Typhoid"

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instruments of their craft. The penalty of ten years' imprisonment was laid down for all Jews who in any way resisted the prescription of this regulation. The penalty was to be pronounced by special tribunals.

b. A regulation issued by the Governor-General on November 23rd, 1939 (*Verordnungsblatt des General-Gouvernement*, item 61, 1939) imposing on all Jews and Jewesses of ten years and upward the obligation to wear on their right shoulder a distinguishing badge in the form of a white shoulder band bearing the Star of David. Failure to conform with this prescription involved the penalty of imprisonment or an unlimited fine, the sentences to be pronounced by a special tribunal.

c. A regulation dated January 24th, 1940 (*Verordnungsblatt des General-Gouvernement*, item 21, 1940/1), imposed the obligation to register Jewish property. Jewish property was defined as property belonging to Jews and to joint stock companies and co-operatives with limited liability, insofar as Jews take part or hold shares in them. Undeclared property is subject to confiscation.

d. A regulation of January 26, 1940 (*Verordnungsblatt des General-Gouvernement*, item 45, 1940), prohibits the use of railways by Jews, unless they possess special permission given by the Governor-General, or by the District Chief acting in his place. Violations of this order are also liable to a fine and are subject to trial by a special court (*Sonderbericht*).

e. A regulation of July 24th, 1940, defines who is to be regarded as a Jew, insofar as this word is used in regulations of the Governor-General. This regulation gives a definition according with that of the notorious Nuremberg laws of 1936.

f. A regulation of September 19th, 1940, forbids Jews to employ non-Jewish women as workers or employees or domestic servants.

g. Regulations issued by the German authorities at various dates further introduced ghettos in Warsaw, Lodz, Cracow, and recently in Kielce, within which ghettos the Jewish population of these towns have to live. The Jewish population previously living outside the ghetto were allowed to take with them into the ghetto only the most indispensable articles, such as one suit of clothes, two shirts, etc., while furniture and valuables had to be left behind in their former dwellings.

h. The Polish Jewish population receives only half the rations allotted to the Polish Christian population, and only one-sixth of the rations allotted to German citizens.

The foregoing summary clearly reveals the German discrimination against the Jews living in Polish territory, in violation of the binding Polish laws and international conventions. Yet this bare summary of measures directed against the Jews completely fails to reflect the terrible reality of the situation in German-occupied Poland resulting from the daily practices of the Nazi authorities. In practice the Jews are denied all human rights, and even the anti-Jewish repressions of mediaeval Germany are put into the shade.

THE PRESENT POLISH GOVERNMENT AND THE QUESTION OF JEWISH EQUALITY IN POLAND

On the close of military operations in Poland a Polish Government of National Unity was set up in France, consisting of representatives of all the largest Polish political parties. At its head is General Wladyslaw Sikorski, who is also Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces.

On August 5th, 1940, General Sikorski, as Commander-in-Chief, issued an order of the day to the army on the question of Jewish soldiers, which reads as follows: Commander-in-Chief.

London, August 5th, 1940
Order 2/40.

The success of our arms and the fruitful establishment of our national existence

require the co-ordination of our efforts for our common aim.

In particular in the army unity must be firmly established and honest brotherhood of arms must rule and all squabbles eliminated.

My principle is that a Polish soldier now fighting for the common cause has thus given sufficient evidence that he is a Pole irrespective of his origin and religion.

I strictly forbid the showing to soldiers of Jewish faith any unfriendliness, through contemptuous remarks humiliating to human dignity.

All such offenses will be severely punished.

This order is to be read on parade to all soldiers.

SIKORSKI, m.p.

On November 3rd, 1940, there was a meeting of Polish Jewry in London, at which Mr. Stanczyk, the Polish Minister for Labor and Social Welfare, made the following statement in the name of the Polish Government:

"Gentlemen, I want to assure you once more in the name of the Government of the Republic that nothing will turn us from the democratic principles guaranteeing every citizen in the future Poland equal civic, political and social rights.

"In liberated Poland, the Jews, as Polish citizens,
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GERMANY IS WHERE PEOPLE OF GERMAN BLOOD DWELL

Germany's frontiers are not those which separate the countries; they are frontiers which are not painful like the nails in our flesh. There, where the Germans open the passes in the forest, giving names to cities and the mountains and transforming primitive regions into rich plains and meadows. There, in the closed homes, where the grandparents and the grandchildren sing the German songs, there is the sacred Mother country. This is the Garden of God. This is the Fatherland. This is Germany.

*National Sozialistische Frauenzeitung
No. 13, Berlin.*

According to this definition Germantown in Pennsylvania, Milwaukee in Wisconsin, and Bismark in North Dakota belong to Greater Germany, as well as does the state of Sao Paulo in Brazil, and as do many other places which once became havens of refuge to German emigrants.

POLISH NAVY IN THE BALTIC

SIX months before Hitler's unprovoked aggression against Poland, a state of emergency existed in the Baltic. From March 1939, the navy was constantly on the alert although it followed its normal course patrolling the entrance to the Bay of Danzig. But German airplanes were continually violating international law by entering our territorial waters, taking aerial photographs of our ships and provoking our navy. Orders were given to fire on foreign aircraft flying over Polish territory and from time to time news was received that a German plane had been lost.

The Polish navy, number of vessels and in tonnage, was extremely small compared to that of Germany. Poland had only four destroyers, five submarines, one minelayer and a few auxiliary craft.

Germany had six battleships, including the famous "pocket battleships"; at least six cruisers with more in construction, a number of destroyers and a multitude of smaller craft, torpedo boats, patrol boats, trawlers, etc. The number of German submarines was unknown, but it was considerable.

Our aerial defenses along the coast were insignificant compared to the attacking power of the Reich. The chances of effective counter-action were small. As some ships would be able to act more effectively in co-operation with the British Navy, it was decided to send the three destroyers, "Grom", "Blyskawica", and "Burza" to England. Two days before the outbreak of the war, these ships left the Baltic and joined the British fleet. This still further weakened the Polish navy in proportion to the German fleet. In the Baltic there remained only the destroyer "Wicher", the minelayer "Gryf," and several trawlers and patrol boats.

Every ship in the Polish navy went down with colors flying. The odds were overwhelming but there was no thought of surrender. Not a single ship fell into the hands of the Germans. They all went down with their crews, following the heroic traditions of the Polish navy.

Shortly before noon, September 1st, 1939, the port of Gdynia sustained a terrific bombardment by nineteen German bombers. The torpedo boat "Mazur," struck by a bomb, began to sink. The explosion killed several of her sailors outright, but even when her deck was under water, her anti-aircraft guns still "barked" under the command of young Lieutenant Jacek Denel.

After this first raid, all Polish ships were ordered to leave the port. The "Gryf," the "Wicher" and trawlers anchored at Puck Bay were again bombed by enemy aircraft. The "Gryf" was attacked by more than twenty German planes but no direct hit was scored. Her commander was killed by the explosion of a bomb that fell close to his ship.

A little later "Wicher" and the trawlers were again attacked. Thanks, however, to skilful maneuvering the "Wicher" escaped damage. One of the bombs fell so near the trawler "Mewa" that all the sailors serving the anti-aircraft guns were flung into the sea. The fragments of the bomb wounded the ship's commander, Captain Lipkowski, who, seeing that the gun was not being served continued firing despite his wounds.

A second bomb wounded the ship's commander

so severely that he could no longer stand up. He gave his orders lying on deck and after the raid was able to bring his disabled ship to port.

During this bombardment both the "Wicher" and the "Gryf" were damaged. They were ordered to make the port of Hel.

Next day the "Gryf" sighted enemy ships at sea: two German destroyers proceeding in the direction of Pilawa. After passing the Hel Peninsula, the enemy started to fire at a range of ten miles, and our ships answered shot for shot.

Our ships fought at a great disadvantage as they offered the enemy a perfect target, and were themselves only able to fire from the stern. In spite of this, after the third salvo, explosions were seen on one of the German ships. Columns of smoke were

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A Gun Crew on the Polish Destroyer

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seen rising from the ship, which slackened its speed and proceeded in the direction of Danzig, but sank near the shore. The Polish ships were also hit but continued firing and inflicted damage on the other German destroyer which threw out a smoke-screen and withdrew. It was reported that this destroyer also sank near Danzig.

Two hours later a twin formation of German dive bombers again attacked the "Gryf" and the "Wicher." They kept it up for a long time. A number of 500- and 1000-pound bombs were dropped, this time with effect. Two bombs made direct hits on the emergency pier where the "Gryf" was docked and its collapse damaged the "Gryf" by opening her seams through which water poured. The ship slowly began to sink.

Two other bombs made direct hits on the "Wicher." One fell near the captain's bridge, the other near the stern. Within two minutes the ship heeled over on her right side, her rudder



The Late Herman Lieberman, Polish Minister of Justice, Leader of the Polish Labor Movement, Broadcasting in Presence of President of Poland

and turbines out of the water.

Meanwhile the Polish trawlers had done more than their share. They managed to lay down mines at the entrance to the port of Danzig. Under cover of darkness, sailing perilously close to the anchored units of the German navy, they completed the risky operation.

Yet the trawlers were not able to continue their difficult task for long because of the enemy's domination of the bay. They were all sunk by bombs or gun-fire, but not until some of the crews and even guns were landed for the defense of the Peninsula.

The Polish navy inflicted the following losses on the enemy in the Baltic:

Battleship "Schleswig Holstein" damaged. One destroyer sunk, another severely damaged. Two trawlers sunk, one by floating mines at the entrance to the port of Hel.

Polish coastal and ships anti-aircraft guns shot down fifty-three German planes.

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will be equal in duties and rights with the Polish community. They will be able without hindrance to develop their culture, religion and customs. The guarantee of this will be not only the State laws, but also the common sacrifices made in the struggle for the country's liberation and the common sufferings in this most tragic period of oppression.

The above statement, made by Mr. Stanczyk in the name of the entire Government, guarantees Jews in Poland full equality of citizenship once for all.

Of recent months at various times both General Sikorski and members of the Polish Cabinet have expressed themselves on the Jewish question in terms according with the Government Statement of November 3rd, 1940.

In April, 1941, General Sikorski visited America. During his stay in the United States he received members of the Jewish World Congress. Questioned by them on his attitude to Polish Jewish citizens he declared that all citizens in the future Poland, and therefore the Jews also, would be bound by a single principle: equal rights, equal duties.

The future victory will bring to Poland the liberation of all its inhabitants, and will break down the walls of the ghettos and the legal discriminations introduced by the occupants against the Polish citizens of Jewish nationality.

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inflation no less terrible than the first. One of the reasons for the strength of the present régime, is paradoxically enough, the fact that, in the opinion of so many Germans, its removal would call forth inflation and economic chaos. But can the German people be relied upon to place the responsibility for this state of affairs upon the right shoulders? Or will a new anti-democratic movement be able to make political capital out of the widespread misery and chaos for which Hitler will, in fact, be responsible?

If, therefore, a democratic régime does emerge on the morrow of Hitler's collapse, we should be chary of assuming its permanence too readily or of depriving ourselves of those guarantees of security which would be necessary in order to prevent Germany from returning once again to her bellicose habits. For it would be rash to assume that the Germans have thrown off in the twinkling of an eye habits of aggressiveness formed over a century and instilled with Teutonic thoroughness during the past eight years.